

Message Text

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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FRB-03 STR-04 OMB-01 AGRE-00 OES-06 XMB-02 /147 W
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R 051127Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0254
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1498

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SW
SUBJ: SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

REF: (A) STOCKHOLM 1402, (B) STOCKHOLM 1399.

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE RIKSDAG'S TRADITIONAL SPRING DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH OCCURRED THIS YEAR ON MARCH 30, BROUGHT HOME AGAIN THE GENUINE NATIONAL CONSENSUS IN THIS COUNTRY ON THE FUNDAMENTAL LINES OF SWEDISH POLICIES. THE DAY-LONG DISCUSSION REVEALED FEW REAL DIFFERENCES AMONG THE FOUR NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES TOWARD GOS POSITIONS ON A WIDE RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. PRINCIPAL EXPECTATIONS WERE A PROPOSAL FOR SWEDISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (IDB) AND THE COMPLETENESS OF SWEDISH MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. SOMCE OBSERVERS HAVE PONDERED WHETHER "DEBATE" WAS REALLY THE MOST APT DESCRIPTION OF LAST WEEK'S PARLIAMENTARY EXERCISE, GIVEN THE BROAD AGREEMENT REFLECTED ON MOST QUESTIONS. MANY AGREE WITH OPPOSITION LEADER PALME, WHO CHOSE TO CREDIT THIS
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HAPPY STATE OF AFFAIRS TO THE NON-SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT'S EAGERNESS TO CARRY OUT (ALBEIT WITH SLIGHT CHANGES IN EMPHASIS AND STYLE) THE BASIC LINES LAID DOWN BY PAST SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS. FOERIGN MINISTER KARIN SODER'S SPEECH OUTLINING CURRENT GOS POLICY CONCERNS INCLUDED SEVERAL APPRECIATIVE REFERENCES TO NEW US POLICY INITIATIVES AND, IN GENERAL, INDICATED THAT SWEDISH AND US POLICYMAKERS TODAY LARGELY

AGREE IN FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES. END SUMMARY.

2. SODER'S SPEECH REAFFIRMED THE GREAT IMPORTANCE WHICH THE GOS, AND PARTICULARLY THE CENTER PARTY MEMBERS THEREOF, ATTACH TO RELATIONS WITH SISTER NORDIC COUNTRIES AND TO FORGING, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, COMMON NORDIC APPROACHES TO MANY INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, PARTICULARLY THOSE INVOLVING THE THIRD WORLD. THE EXTENSIVE SWEDISH DELEGATION AT LAST MONTH'S NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AT REYKJAVIK AND THE FACT THAT 12 CABINET MINISTERS INCLUDING FALLDIN AND SODER ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN LAST WEEKS'S NORDIC COUNCIL MEETING IN HELSINKI GIVE TESTIMONY TO THEIR REGARD FOR THE NORDIC CONNECTION. ALSO GIVEN PROMINENT EXPRESSION WERE GOS HOPES FOR A STRENGTHENING OF DETENTE AND AN EVENTUALLY SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF CURRENT SALT NEGOTIATIONS SO AS TO ARRIVE AT A STATE "WHERE THE BALANCE OF TERROR IS NO LONGER REGARDED AS THE ULTIMATE GUARANTEE OF PEACE". COMMENTS ON OTHER SPECIFIC POLICY AREAS RAISED IN THE DEBATE FOLLOWS.

3. DISARMAMENT. GOS WELCOMES THE "GRATIFYING EMPHASIS" PRESIDENT CARTER HAS PLACED ON MEASURES TO LIMIT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, INCLUDING PARTICULARLY A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY. SODER PROMISED CONTINUED EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE SWEDISH DRAFT CTB TREATY AT CCD. REF A REPORTS THE FULL EXCERPT FROM HER SPEECH ON GOS PREPARATIONS FOR AND VIEWS ON THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. HER REMARKS LEAVE LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE SWEDES ARE ENDEAVORING TO ENDOW SSOD WITH THE HIGHEST PRIORITY AND WILL BE OUT FRONT AMONG THE NORDICS AND DCS IN ATTEMPTING TO DISCOVER
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AND EXPLOIT THE PROPER DISARMAMENT-DEVELOPMENT CONNECTION.

4. MIDDLE EAST. GOS SUPPORTS THE EARLY RECONVENTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, A SETTLEMENT BASED ON SC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, CREATION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE AND FULL PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN AGREEMENTS AFFECTING THEIR FUTURE.

VIETNAM. SODER SAID SWEDEN HOPES RECENT US-VIETNAM DIRECT CONTACTS WILL LEAD TO US PARTICIPATION IN RECONSTRUCTION WORK IN VIETNAM. SHE ADDED THAT VIETNAM MUST BE AFFORDED ITS LEGITIMATE PLACE IN THE UN.

6. NORTHERN EUROPE. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID SWEDISH ARMED NEUTRALITY AND THE SECURITY POLICIES OF SISTER NORDIC COUNTRIES ARE AN "ESSENTIALLY POSITIVE ELEMENT" IN THE POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SITUATION IN NORTHERN EUROPE WHICH, SHE ADDED, IS CHARACTERIZED BY CALM AND

STABILITY. SHE WENT ON TO NOTE "SIGNS OF THE IN-
CREASING IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY THE SUPER POWERS TO
THE NORTHERN CALOTTE AND SURROUNDING AREAS." AND
FURTHER, THAT "IT IS OF VITAL INTEREST TO US THAT
NOTHING OCCUR TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION." SHE HASTENED
TO CONCLUDE THAT SWEDEN HAS NO REASON "TO ASSUME THAT
SUCH CHANGES ARE BEING CONTEMPLATED IN ANY QUARTER."
ALTHOUGH THE DEBATE FAILED TO REVEAL WHAT SIGNALS OF
INCREASED SUPER POWER INTEREST HAD BEEN DETECTED, MFA
SOURCES HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT
THIS PASSAGE IN THE SPEECH WAS MEANT TO CONVEY TO THE
SOVIETS, NORWEGIANS AND PARTICULARLY THE FINNS THE
SWEDISH VIEW THAT GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN NATO MANEUVERS
IN NORWAY DOES NOT RPT NOT REPRESENT THE KIND OF CHANGE
IN FUNDAMENTAL NORDIC SECURITY POLICIES WHICH WOULD
CAUSE SWEDISH CONCERN. GOS HAS MADE THIS INTERPRE-
TATION TO SOVIETS AND NORWEGIANS AND WILL REPEAT IT
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TO THE FINNS.

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1498

7. CSCE. SWEDEN IS DETERMINED TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AT THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP AND WILL PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS TO INCREASE BENEFITS TO MEMBER STATES OF THE CBMS PROVIDED BY THE FINAL ACT. THE THRUST OF THESE PROPOSALS WILL BE TO IMPROVE THE "GENUINE" INFORMATION DISSEMINATED ON MANEUVERS AND TROOP MOVEMENTS SO AS TO PREVENT "GROUNDLESS SUSPICION" FROM ARISING REGARDING THEIR PURPOSE. WHILE GOS HAS NO WISH TO SEE BELGRADE AS A FORUM FOR ACCUSATION AND RECRIMINATION, NEITHER WILL SWEDEN MUFFLE ITS VIEWS ON HOW THE FINAL ACT HAS OR HAS NOT BEEN CARRIED OUT. CRITICISM OF NON-IMPLEMENTATION, SODER SAID, "IS NOT INCONGRUOUS WITH EFFORTS TO CARRY DETENTE ... FORWARD." SWEDISH CRITICISM WILL NOT IGNORE THE FAILURE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES TO PROVIDE AND PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS. (IN FACT SHE SAID IF DETENTE "IS TO CONTINUE, GOVERNMENTS MUST PROVIDE FOR AND RESPECT THE RIGHTS AND NEEDS OF INDIVIDUALS."

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8. HUMAN RIGHTS. THERE WILL BE HEIGHTENED GOS ACTIVITY IN THIS FIELD. GOS WILL FOLLOW UP IN THE UNGA ITS INITIATIVE TO ENSURE A HUMANE TREATMENT FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS. ACTIVITY THROUGH THE UNHRC WILL BE INTENSIFIED. IN REFERRING TO CHILE, SODER SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE US HAD ACTIVELY SUPPORTED UNHRC CONDEMNATION OF THE PINOCHET REGIME. SWEDEN HOPES, SHE SAID, THAT THE IMPORTANCE THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION DECLARES IT ATTACHES TO THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE SEEN IN CHILE AND OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. BOTH SODER AND PALME AGREED ON THE DIFFICULTY FOR THE US IN DEFINING THE LIMITS TO WHICH CRITICISM OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE USSR MAY GO WITHOUT ENDANGERING OTHER OBJECTIVES, SUCH AS DETENTE. AS SHE HAS IN THE PAST, SODER INDICATED THAT WHAT HAS BEEN SAID SO FAR BY PRESIDENT CARTER "HAS BEEN ENTIRELY POSITIVE."

9. SWEDISH IDB MEMBERSHIP. THIS ITEM GENERATED MORE HEAT IN THE DEBATE THAN ANY OTHER. SODER AND MINISTER OF COMMERCE BURENSTAM-LINDER DEFENDED THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL. SODER NOTED THAT MANY SMALL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES DESIRED SWEDISH MEMBERSHIP TO REDUCE THEIR DEPENDENCE ON US INVESTMENTS, THAT THE SWEDISH ECONOMIC SITUATION HAD CHANGED SINCE THE CENTER PARTY ITSELF HAD REBUFFED THE IDEA, AND THAT MANY SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE HAD BECOME MEMBERS. SHE ALSO SAID THAT NEW HOPES FOR THE IDB HAD BEEN RAISED AS A RESULT OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECLARATIONS AGAINST LA DICTATORSHIPS.

PALME AND FORMER MINISTER OF COMMERCE CARL LIDBOM COUNTERED THAT SWEDISH MEMBERSHIP COULD NOT HOPE TO REDUCE US INFLUENCE OVER IDB LOAN POLICIES. THEY PROMISED ALL-OUT OPPOSITION BY THE SDP WHEN THE MEASURE COMES TO A VOTE IN MAY.

10. SOUTHERN AFRICA. RHODESIA: SWEDEN WILL
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SUPPORT STRENGTHENED ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA; SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE MADE TO ZAPU AND ZANU AND ASSISTANCE TO THE FRONT-LINE STATES WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED. NAMIBIA: SWAPO MUST PARTICIPATE IN INDEPENDENCE NEGOTIATIONS. GOS CONTRIBUTIONS TO SWAPO AND THE NAMIBIA INSTITUTE IN LUSAKA ARE TO BE INCREASED. SOUTH AFRICA: THE GOS WILL WORK TO BRING INTO EFFECT A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO; SWEDISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UN ADMINISTRATIVE FUND FOR SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE INCREASED CONSIDERABLY AS WILL DONATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE AND AID FUND (IDAF); AND THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO PROMOTE ITS PROPOSAL NOW BEFORE THE UNSC THAT THE COUNCIL TAKE STEPS TO DISSUADE NEW INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE DEBATE HERE CLEARLY REVEALED GOVERNMENT-OPPOSITION DIFFERENCES WITH PALME INSISTING THAT SWEDEN ADOPT LEGISLATION FORMALLY PROHIBITING SWEDISH COMPANIES FROM MAKING FURTHER INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE GOVERNMENT INDICATING IT WAS NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO DO SO FAR. SODER EXPLAINED THAT MANDATORY SANCTIONS AGAINST NEW INVESTMENTS COULD BE EFFECTIVE ONLY IF SOUTH AFRICA'S MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS PARTICIPATED--WHICH IS NOT YET A REALISTIC EXPECTATION.

11. CIEC. SODER NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT SWEDISH VIEWS ON THE NEED TO INCREASE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, ALLEVIATE THE DEBT BURDEN OF THE POOREST LDCS AND REFORM THE COMMODITY SECTOR ARE BEING INCREASINGLY SHARED WITHIN THE EC AND BY THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION.

12. NUCLEAR ENERGY. SODER'S DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT GOS VIEWS AND INTENTIONS ON PROLIFERATION AND SAFEGUARDS PROBLEMS ALONG WITH EMBASSY COMMENTS, WERE REPORTED IN REF B.

13. COMMENT. EMBASSY OFFICERS ATTENDING THE DEBATE THIS YEAR WERE GENUINELY IMPRESSED WITH THE RELATIVE
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ABSENCE OF CONFRONTATION AND EMOTION FROM EITHER SIDE OF THE AISLE. WE ALSO NOTED A HIGH RATE OF ABSENTEEISM AMONG RIKSDAGSMEN. IT CERTAINLY IS TRUE THAT THE NUMBER OF PREVIOUSLY DIVISIVE ISSUES (FOR EXAMPLE, CUBAN AID, VIETNAM, US-SWEDISH RELATIONS) HAS BEEN REDUCED AND ACCOUNTS FOR SOME OF THE LOSS OF IMMEDIACY AND RIKSDAG INTEREST IN SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSION. MORE IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, ARE THE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAVE COME TO PRE-OCCUPY NOT ONLY THE GOVERNMENT BUT THE OPPOSITION AS WELL. THIS PROCESS OF "TURNING INWARD" IS FAR FROM OVER AND, INDEED, SHOWS SIGNS OF ACCELERATING.

14. SODER'S PUBLIC REFERENCES TO NEW US INITIATIVES IN SEVERAL AREAS ARE MOST WELCOME AND ARE REPEATED BY A VARIETY OF GOS OFFICIALS TO MANY EMBASSY OFFICERS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS. TIMES HAVE CHANGED.

15. A COPY OF SODER'S SPEECH HAS BEEN POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT (EUR/NE).
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Message Attributes

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